

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 OIC-02 CU-04 IO-13 HA-05 BIB-01
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00
NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 ACDA-12
TRSE-00 EB-08 OMB-01 COME-00 STR-05 FEA-01 OES-07
EPA-01 CEQ-01 DOTE-00 /120 W
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R 011113Z 77

FM AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0035
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
INFO RUFHEB/AMEMBASSY BERLIN 078
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
USMISSION USNATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BUDAPEST 4191

FOR AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG FROM AMBASSADOR KAISER

E.O.11652: GDS
TAGS: CSCE HU
SUBJECT: IMPACT OF BELGRADE CONFERENCE

REF: BELGRADE 8368

1. HUNGARY WANTS DETENTE; IT WANTS DETENTE TO GROW; AND IT SEES CSCE PROCESS AS MEANS FOR EXPANDING DETENTE. IN HUNGARIAN VIEW, DETENTE MEANS GREATER FLEXIBILITY TO PURSUE ITS OWN SPECIAL COURSE AT HOME. WHILE HUNGARY IS FAITHFUL TO SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY LINES, IT WELCMES A MORE RELAXED ATMOSPHERE WHICH PERMITS IT SOME FLEXIBILITY. THE HUNGARIAN LEADERSHIP IS CLEVER AT USING CSCE IMPLEMENTATION AS MEANS OF
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JUSTIFYING ACTIONS IT WOULD NEVERTHELESS WISH TO TAKE IN THE ABSENCE OF CSCE, INCLUDING GRADUAL, LIMITED, DOMESTIC LIBERALIZATION AND EXPANSION OF ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CONTACTS WITH WEST. OBVIOUSLY, HUNGARIAN COMMUNISTS DO NOT SHARE WESTERN VALUES OR WESTERN CONCEPTIONS OF CSCE BUT I BELIEVE THEIR TOLERANCE FOR FURTHER IMPLEMENTATION OF BASKET III IS GREATER THAN

THAT OF HUNGARY'S ALLIES.

2. HUNGARY HAS THUS PUBLICLY AND STEADFASTLY PROCLAIMED ITS ADHERENCE TO CSCE PROCESS. IT STRESSES BILATERAL IMPLEMENTATION, NOT MULTILATERAL IMPLEMENTATION. THE MULTILATERAL AREANA DOES NOT AFFORD HUNGARY MUCH LATITUDE, THE BILATERAL DOES TO A GREATER DEGREE. HUNGARIAN LEADERS ARE NOT YET CONCERNED THAT THE CSCE PROCESS, AS IT AFFECTS HUNGARY, WILL GET OUT OF HAND SPAWNING DISSIDENCE OR PROTEST. IT IS ALWAYS POSSIBLE THAT RELAXATION MAY BREED INCREASING POPULAR DEMANDS OR THAT THE ECONOMIC SITUATION CAN DETERIORATE EVENTUALLY IN HUNGARY TO THE SAME EFFECT, THIS IS TO SOME EXTENT UNPREDICTABLE. HOWEVER, BARRING UNFORESEEN DEVELOPMENTS, HUNGARY WILL FOLLOW ITS PRESENT COURSE WHICH IS RELATIVELY FAVORABLE TO CSCE IMPLEMENTATION.

3. WHILE HUNGARY WILL WISH TO USE CSCE FOR ITS OWN ENDS IT IS NOT GREATLY DEPENDENT ON IT. I AM CONVINCED IT WOULD NOT UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES JEOPARDIZE ANY IMPORTANT ASPECT OF ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SOVIET UNION FOR THE SAKE OF CSCE. ON MULTILATERAL ISSUES RELATED TO CSCE, IT HAS AND WILL CONTINUE TO BACK SOVIET LINE. IT WILL DO SO ALSO ON NEGOTIATIONS FOR FINAL BELGRADE DOCUMENT LANGUAGE. ONLY AFTERWARD IN POST-BELGRADE IMPLEMENTATION CAN IT GO AT ALL ITS CONFIDENTIAL

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OWN WAY. HUNGARIAN REPS AT BELGRADE, I WOULD EXPECT, WILL BE PARTICULARLY ATTENTIVE TO STAY IN LINE WITH SOVIETS ON MILITARY AND CBM ISSUES. HUNGARY MAY ALSO ACT AS SOVIET STALKING HORSE. IT WILL CONTINUE TO CONTRIBUTE TO CRITICISM OF U.S. STAND ON HUMAN RIGHTS AS PART OF ITS COMMITMENT TO ITS SOVIET AND CZECH ALLIES BUT IT WILL TRY TO KEEP ITS ATTACKS AGAINST WEST WITHIN BOUNDS.

4. PRIOR TO BELGRADE CONFERENCE HUNGARY CONSULTED BILATERALLY WITH VIRTUALLY ALL THE WESTERN AND NEUTRAL CSCE PARTICIPANTS. HUNGARY TRIED TO WORK OUT WITH THEM MEASURES FOR BILATERAL IMPLEMENTATION OF HELSINKI FINAL ACT, SUCCEEDING IN MANY CASES. WITH U.S. IT NEGOTIATED MEASURES TO FACILITATE TRAVEL. IT ALSO HAS BEEN FORTHCOMING IN RESOLVING OUTSTANDING FAMILY REUNIFICATION CASES FORMALLY PRESENTED TO IT BY USG. IT HAS TAKEN A NUMBER OF ECONOMIC MEASURES TO FACILITATE TRADE AND JOINT INVESTMENTS WITH ALL WESTERN COUNTRIES. IT HAS LOOSENED THE REINS ON LOCAL MEDIA ESPECIALLY RADIO AND TV. THESE ARE MEASURES WHICH TO SOME EXTENT CAN BE DIRECTLY IDENTI-

FIED WITH CSCE.

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R 011113Z DEC 77
FM AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
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5. HOWEVER, CSCE IS INEXTRICABLY BOUND UP WITH HUNGARY'S MUCH MORE IMPORTANT EFFORTS TO EXPAND ITS ECONOMIC AND CONCOMITANT POLITICAL TIES WITH WEST AND PARTICULARLY TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES. THUS DURING PAST YEAR WE ARE MOVING AHEAD WITH CULTURAL AGREEMENT WITH HUNGARY. WE HAVE HAD MORE CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN AMERICAN AND HUNGARIAN LEADERS. SEVERAL OTHER BILATERAL PROBLEMS HAVE BEEN RESOLVED. SIMUTANEOUSLY, KADAR HAS VISITED AUSTRIA, GERMANY, AND ITALY. IN ROME HE VISITED THE POPE AND IMPORTANT STEPS HAVE BEEN TAKEN TO COMPLETE NORMALIZATION OF CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS. WHEN IT SUITS ITS PURPOSES HUNGARY RELATES ALL THIS TO THE CSCE PROCESS, ESPECIALLY IN ITS OWN COMMUNICATIONS TO ITS PEOPLE THROUGH THE MEDIA.

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6. IMPROVEMENTS AS DISCUSSED PARA 5 ABOVE HAVE BEEN CONTINUING RIGHT UP TO AND INCLUDING PERIOD OF BELGRADE CONFERENCE. FROM MY VANTAGE POINT, I SEE HUNGARY'S TACTICS AT BELGRADE AS LYING LOW. THE HUNGARIANS WANT NO SPOTLIGHT ON THEIR LIBERAL RECORD. NOR DO THEY WISH TO RAISE WESTERN ANTAGONISM NEEDLESSLY. THEY ARE GENUINELY INTERESTED IN BREZHNEV'S PROPOSED ENERGY, ENVIRONMENTAL AND TRANSPORT CONFERENCES. THEY ARE PARTICULARLY INTERESTED IN BASKET II IMPLEMENTATION AND IN MEASURES TO HELP DIFFUSE HUNGARIAN CULTURE AND UNDERSTANDING OF THE HUNGARIAN LANGUAGE ABROAD. THEY SUPPORT SOVIET DISARMAMENT AND CBM PROPOSALS.

7. I EXPECT THE ABOVE PATTERN TO CONTINUE IN THE FUTURE. HUNGARY WANTS CSCE TO BE SUCCESSFUL. IT IS NOT AFRAID OF IT OR ANY HUMAN RIGHTS MEASURES THE SOVIETS WOULD ALLOW TO BE AGREED UPON. IN INTERNATIONAL FORUMS SUCH AS BELGRADE HUNGARY WILL FOLLOW THE SOVIET LEAD. IN BELGRADE IT WILL CONTRIBUTE INDEPENDENTLY ON THE MARGIN ON NON-POLITICAL, NON-SENSITIVE ISSUES. IF CSCE BECOMES AN ACRIMONIOUS FORUM, OR IS STALEMATED, HUNGARY MAY CHOOSE TO PLAY A QUIET, CIRCUMSPECT ROLE DESIGNED TO PRESERVE CSCE'S ROLE IN AND CONTRIBUTION TOWARD DETENTE. IT WANTS THAT DETENTE PROCESS TO CONTINUE AFTER BELGRADE, AT WHICH TIME IT CAN GRADUALLY PROCEED TO FURTHER IMPLEMENTATION IN A CONTROLLABLE MANNER BEST DESIGNED TO FURTHER ITS OWN NATIONAL INTERESTS.

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